villages. In Tientsin and other modern cities, major industries built large dormitories for workers: labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for social activity. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers moved into the cities. Crowding reached unbelievable proportions. The only comparable figures are for Chengtu, a city outside the North China area, but they suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominantly one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square miles as compared to 22,500 per square mile in New York City.[11] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[12] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays (although national holidays were increasingly observed), and, like the town dwellers, city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the holidays. Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes made arrangements for mutual aid. Secret societies provided

11. Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for period 1945-47.

12. Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

468 disputes were submitted to the bureau for mediation. Some 77 per cent accepted the mediation or arbitration of the bureau.[7]

• 466 According to an analysis made by the labor bureau of Tangshan, an industrial district in North China, 73 per cent of the labor disputes in private enterprises in that area involved the dismissal of workers as a result of the economic slump which followed the Communist invasion of North China in 1948. In most cases, the labor bureau, with the help of trade unions, advised the workers to accept lower wages so that the discharged workers could be rehired and the enterprises concerned would be kept going. That "capital and labor should be united in the struggle for victory in the reconstruction of the Nation" was considered the basic principle for handling all disputes between workers and management. Workers were urged to recognize the close relationship between labor and management and to endeavor to help management. During March and May 1950, when the economic situation was at its worst, many workers "voluntarily" requested cuts in their wages and others agreed to rotation employment.[8]

C. The Apprentice System

Before the Communist regime, the apprentice system was used in handicraft industries,

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7. Ibid., Dec. 29, 1949, p. 4.

8. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, p. 269.

466 workshops, and, to some extent, in larger factories throughout China. When the Communists conquered North China in 1948, they could not afford to abolish this system as they had promised they would. Apprenticement was a means of training skilled labor needed in the industrialization of China. The Communists claim they have abolished the "feudalistic" nature of the apprentice system, which continues to exist in all regions of China.

Trade unions in Peking, Tientsin, and Taiyuan encouraged apprentices and masters in factories and workshops to sign "apprentice-master contracts," whereby the master promised to teach the apprentice certain skills and the apprentice promised to respect the master and work conscientiously. When the first "apprentice-master" contract was signed on Dec. 27, 1949, representatives of the Communist Party, the People's Government of Tientsin, and the trade unions witnessed the ceremony. It also was reported in some detail by the Worker's Daily.[9]

II. LABOR EMULATION AND LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

"Labor Emulation" is a technique used by the Communists to effect an increase in labor

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9. Worker's Daily, Jan. 11, 1950, p. 4.

•466 productivity without a corresponding increase in production costs.[10] In promoting "labor emulation," the following steps are taken: (1) workers are organized to discusss the production plans of the state; (2) the trade unions, acting on behalf of the workers, sign contracts with the respective administrations; (3) production meetings are called to discuss production problems; (4) workers are encouraged to work out and submit "rationalization proposals"[11] and to popularize "advanced methods of work."[12]

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10. People's China, Peking, May 16, 1954, pp. 6-8.

11. In Communist China, the term "rationalization proposal" is used to mean proposals submitted by workers to management for increasing production through improved techniques, reducing costs of production, introducing methods to lengthen the life of machines, and using manpower more effectively. The submission of rationalization proposals emerged as a campaign in Northeast China in 1947 and spread throughout China in 1950. See Kuo-min Ching-chi Shih-yung Tz'u-tien [Popular Dictionary of Practical Economics], Shanghai, Ch'un-ming shu-tien, 1952, pp. 9016-17.

12. "Popularization of the advanced methods of work" in Communist China is corresponding to Stahkanovism in Russia: a means to increase efficiency by utilizing methods introduced by model workers. See Ibid., p. 9057.

466 The "labor emulation drive" in Communist China was copied from practices current in Russia and used during the early 1940's in the Communist controlled Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.[13] It had spread throughout China by 1950. Three years later, about 80 per cent of the working population in China had been forced to take part in this drive. According to a Communist report,[14] labor productivity increased as a result.

Labor emulation was begun in Tientsin. In early 1950, only 50 factories were participating, and most of them were state-owned. By January 1951 the great majority of factories in Tientsin, including over 60 private enterprises, were involved. The Communists alleged in 1955 that the smelters at the Tientsin Iron and Steel Works, as a result of the emulation drive, had increased their output thirteenfold during the past five years.[15]

The signing of collective contracts between labor and the administration was an important step in organizing "labor emulation." The proceedings, as reported by the Shih-ching-shan Electric Company, were as follows: The director of the plant reported to a general meeting of workers on the task assigned to the plant. The

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13. Abundant Clothing, Sufficient Food, Shen-si-Kansu-Ninghsia-Border Region, May 1944.

14. People's Daily, May 1, 1955, p. 2.

15. People's China, May 1, 1955, p. 19.

•466 report was followed by discussions and suggestions at all union levels from the committee down to the smallest groups. A contract based on the results of these discussions and suggestions was drawn up by the vice-chairman of the trade union and the deputy director of the plant. The draft was then subjected to further discussion before approval. After the contract was signed, it became a program of action for the entire plant. Both administration and trade unions pledged to fulfill the production plan.[16]

From January to November 1953, the labor emulation drive drew from workers in factories and mines in Shansi Province a total of 18,115 "rationalization proposals." Of these, 12,571 were adopted at a reported saving to the state of 35,000 million yuan (old currency, about US$ 1.4 million.)[17]

The public acclaim given "model workers" who surpass their production quotas is one way the Communists have popularized "advanced methods of work" in an effort to increase labor productivity. Hopei and Shansi provinces and the municipalities of Peking and Tientsin sent 30 "model workers" to participate in the first Labor Heroes' Conference held in Peking in 1950.[18]

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16. Ibid., May 1, 1955, p. 19.
17. People's China, May 1, 1955, p. 11.
18. Worker's Daily, Sept. 28 - Oct. 3, 1950.

466 "Patriotic appeal" is another means used in Communist China to increase labor productivity. At the end of 1951, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions issued a note calling upon trade union organizations at all levels to launch the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement. In response to this call, workers in North China signed pacts, promising patriotically to increase production.

During the initial phases of a labor emulation drive, production generally increased in quantity, but accidents occurred more frequently. According to an announcement issued by the People's Control Committee on September 16, 1953,[19] trade unions in state-operated enterprises were guilty of increasing production at the cost of labor safety. In the Kailan Mining District in Hopei Province, the management and trade union officials at a brick factory encouraged the workers to pull bricks from blazing kilns in order to fulfill the production quota. Of the 43 workers involved in this incident, 41 sustained serious burns.[20]

At the state-operated Taiyuan Machinery Factory in Shansi Province, the management and union cadres extended working hours until a twelve-hour work-day was not unusual. The Communists admitted that a worker named Yang

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19. People's Daily, Sept. 17, 1952, p. 1.

20. Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], January 19, 1953, pp. 7-8.

466 Chih-k'uei became exhausted on a sixteen-hour work-shift, grew careless, and caused his own death.

The Communists are aware of the dangers of strenuous labor emulation. Recently the regime has encouraged the observance of safety measures and adequate training of workers, and abnormal extension of working hours is discouraged.

III. WAGES AND PURCHASING POWER OF CHINESE WORKERS

465 In 1948 and 1949, the method of computing wages was in a state of confusion. At first, wages were calculated in terms of rice and millet. For example, in Peking in 1949, the privately-owned Yung-feng Chemical Works graded its workers according to their skills: in the first group each worker received 5.5 catties of rice (about 6 lbs) per day; in the second group, 5 catties (about 5.5 lbs); and in the third group, 4 catties (about 4.4 lbs). In Tientsin, at the end of 1949, each transportation worker earned almost 15 catties (about 16.5 lbs) of rice per day.[21]

In order to safeguard the workers' earnings against fluctuations of commodity prices, the Chinese Communists adopted a wage-unit system at the end of 1951. The wage-unit was based

21. Worker's Daily, Dec. 17, 1949, p. 4.

434 465 many "voluntary" contributions, to various campaigns as well as the all-but-compulsory purchase of government bonds. In 1950, the Communist government issued Victory Bonds, and North China was allocated 1,500,000 points.[28] The workers in Peking, Tientsin, and Taiyuan were pressed to buy the bonds by trade union officials and Party members.

VI. LABOR WELFARE

A. Labor Insurance and Health

● 466 743 Under the Labor Insurance Law, promulgated by the Ministry of Labor in March 1951 and revised in January 1953, there has been an increase in health facilities in factories and mines in North China. In June 1954, this area had more than 200 sanatoriums and rest homes with a total of more than 6,000 beds, and several similar institutions were under construction.[29] In 1949, Tientsin completed a workers' hospital with a staff of 82 to care for 200 patients daily. Tangshan industrial district in Hopei Province has a modern hospital with 330 beds.[30]

466 456 Old age pensions have been introduced in Communist China under the Labor Insurance Law. The aged workers of the famous T'ung-jen

28. Worker's Daily, Oct. 1952, p. 2; People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 15.

29. People's China, June 1954, p. 39.

30. Worker's Daily, Dec. 2, 1949, p. 4; Tsu-kuo Tsai Ch'ien-chin [China Forges Ahead], Vol. II, Peking San-lien shu-tien, p. 296.

456 t'ang Chinese drug store in Peking have received pensions under this law. The Communists assert
466 that one railway worker in Tientsin after 50 years of service receives 70 per cent of his former monthly wage as an old age pension.[31]

466 The Communists assert that under their regime housing conditions have improved throughout China. The regime claims to have spent more than 286 million yuan (new currency, about US$ 114.4 million) on housing in 1952 and to have allocated funds to construct some 130 million square feet of housing in 1953. In spite of these efforts, housing problems in Communist China have not been resolved. The People's Daily reported on November 25, 1954 that in Shih-ching-shan industrial district in the suburbs of Peking, about 80 per cent of the workers had to rent their living quarters from private owners, many of whom asked for large deposits and charged high rents. In a Shansi mining district, one worker with five children was unable to pay rent. He moved into one of the empty mining shacks, but was evicted and died of malnutrition.[32]

The Communists have paid some attention to the nutrition problem of the workers. A Tientsin Daily reporter paid a visit to the local textile machinery works in May 1955. He reported that in the factory canteen, the workers were

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31. Worker's Daily, oct. 1952, p. 2; People's China, May 1, 1953, p. 15.

32. China Weekly, May 2, 1955, pp. 16-18.

466 offered seven or eight dishes to choose from, with prices ranging from 6 to 25 fen (US 2.4 to 9 cents). A doctor at the factory clinic told the reporter that each worker daily received 60 to 90 grams of protein, and a like amount of fat, and at least 4,000 calories, though needed no more than 3,000 to 3,500 calories. The cost of food to the worker was estimated at about one-sixth of his wages each month.[33]

It is possible that a part of the workers in some of the publicly-owned enterprises receive a proper diet subsidized by the state, but such subsidized feeding does not help the worker's family. The Communists admitted that in the industrial districts of the Peking suburbs in the spring of 1955 vegetables and other foods were scarce and that a wait in line of two or three hours was necessary in order to get daily supplies.[34]

B. Labor Safety and Industrial Accidents

165 466 The Communists assert that from 1948 to 1953 the government has passed 119 decrees, rules and regulations concerning industrial safety and sanitation in factories, mines, and other enterprises. AT the end of 1949, the Communist regime instituted a nationwide investigation of

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33. People's China, May 16, 1955, p. 33.
34. Enlightenment Daily, April 23, 1955.

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industrial safety and sanitation in all industries and mines. The trade unions mobilized workers throughout China for a check-up of machines, other tools, and working conditions. It was discovered that most factories and mines in North China had been neglecting safety measures; accidents were frequent, and deaths and injuries were on the increase. In Men-t'ou-kou coal mine near Peking in September-October 1949, there were 25 deaths and 191 injuries. In Shih-ching-shan Steel Works in Peking, the investigation committee discovered 2,794 violations of safety measures.[35]

Conditions were said to have been improved by the investigation, but the labor emulation drive in 1951 caused increased industrial accidents in Tientsin. In public and private factories in Tientsin in the first half of 1952, 1,589 persons were injured or killed in accidents.[36] Early in the Communist regime, the mayor of Tientsin, Huang Ching, remarked that the "improvement of workers' welfare must come after production has been developed."[37] This statement suggests that the policy of the Chinese Communists is to put production goals above safety measures.

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35. Worker's Daily, Dec. 12, 23, 1949.
36. Tientsin Daily, July 30, 1952.
37. Compendium of Government Reports, pp. 260-62.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

C. Labor Education and Recreation

464 212 The overwhelming majority of China's workers are illiterate. One of the basic aims of the Communist regime has been to remedy this situation and raise the technical level among the masses to ensure the success of the reconstruction program. Workers have been encouraged to avail themselves of the training schools run by factories, mines, and other enterprises. In the first year of the Communist regime, 43 per cent of the workers in Peking were reported to be attending night classes. Over 172 night schools were in operation in Tientsin during the same period. Seventy-nine per cent of the workers in the Taiyuan Machinery Shop were illiterate in 1950, but this figure had been reduced to 11 per cent in 1955 after authorities adopted the "acclerated method" of learning Chinese characters.[38]

• 466 461 Peking was the first city to establish "cultural centers" for the workers. Each "cultural center" has a library, a recreation hall, and many other recreational facilities. In 1952, workers took part for the first time in the national athletic meeting held in Peking. In 1950, eleven newspapers and periodicals were printed for workers, and most of the contributors were members of the working class.

Despite the efforts of the Communists to

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38. People's Daily, May 1, 1955, p. 2; Worker's Daily, Oct. 5, 1953, p. 3.

establish night schools and "cultural centers" the workers were too busy to make use of them. Their leisure time was occupied in political study, discussions, and self-criticism meetings as well as government campaigns, movements and drives. According to a Communist report, the workers and staff members in Tientsin factories spent 50 to 60 hours per month in political study and at meetings. The "activists" usually came to the factory at 6:00 a.m. and stayed until 10:00 p.m.[39]

D. Unemployment

Under Communist rule, everyone is said to be guaranteed the right to work. Unemployment, which has been a problem for the new regime, is considered by the Chinese Communists to be a legacy of capitalistic society which will disappear eventually.

The Communist policy of unemployment relief has been based upon the "substitution of work for relief," "self-help," and a series of "Back-to-the-Villages" campaigns. Thousands of unemployed workers have been recruited as forced labor and set to work building highways and railway lines or iworking on water conservation projects and state farms.[40]

In February 1950, the Peking General Trade Union promulgated regulations concerning un-

39. China Weekly, Jan. 26, 1953, p. 11.

40. See chapter on Forced Labor in this handbook.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3h,
Economic Background

FORCED LABOR

I. INTRODUCTION

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466 The conscription of forced labor is practiced in North China as it is in other regions of the country and follows the same pattern as is found in the country as a whole. There are two categories of forced labor in the North. The first is prison labor - those prisoners who were condemned as counterrevolutionaries and violators of landreform laws and others condemned during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. These prisoners are sentenced to manual labor during their prison terms. Some of them are kept in prisons or detention houses to perform their labor services, but most of them are organized into labor corps which may be assigned as needed to work individual sites. The second category is civilian labor recruited by government directives from among the surplus farmhands, the unemployed, and refugees from floods and droughts. They are employed in mass-labor projects, such as the harnessing of the Hwai River and the Ching River and the construction of the Chengtu-Chungking Railway and the Sikang-Tibet Highway. A study of the forced labor in North China must, of necessity, put

697 major emphasis on the first category, that is,
466 "Reform-through-labor."

II. REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR IN HOPEI PROVINCE

697 The nationwide drive for the suppression
695 of counterrevolutionaries started after Communist China entered the war in Korea at the end of 1950. Lo Jui-ch'ing, Minister of Public Security of the Communist Government, reported on October 1, 1951, that according to incomplete statistics submitted by eight administrative districts and four municipalities in Hopei Province during the first nine months of 1951, 3,900,000 people participated in 653 public trials.[1] The "public trial" is something new in Communist China. It is entirely different from the court procedure in a democratic country and akin to the trials which took place during the French Revolution. The procedure of the public trial is in the hands of the Public Security Office, which is in charge of inviting confessions or accusations from the public and of framing charges against the accused. The accused cannot defend himself because he is not allowed to speak, nor is he given the counsel of a lawyer. Public Security officers recommend punishment and the public passes final judgment. A sentence of imprisonment condemns the accused to "Reform-though-

1. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily], Peking, Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

E. Remuneration and Hours of Work

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The general rule among the craft guilds is that the apprentice be given his food and lodging but no regular wage during his period of training. Apprentices of masters with no shops are not given food but are paid the lowest wages of unskilled laborers until the period of apprenticeship is completed. In commercial guilds a small monthly amount is frequently given to apprentices after the first year.

The apprentice is often given presents at the three principal festivals of the year if he has worked well. Many commercial guilds pay rather a large reward for good work at the end of the apprenticeship period. Confectionery stores have the custom of putting aside two coppers ($.01) a day for each apprentice to be used as "festival money." He is presented with forty or fifty coppers ($.12 or $.15) at two of the festivals [1] and at the New-Year with a special gift of one thousand coppers ($2.90). In this guild, as soon as the apprentice is able to "sell goods behind the counter, he is given a salary which begins at $1 or $2 a month." At the end of the apprenticeship period in the Dye Stuff Stores Guild the store presents the graduate with ten taels. The Hat Stores Guild gives a graded income, increasing it each year of the apprenticeship from $1 a month to $20 a month, the maximum at the end of the third year.

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In replies to our inquiry regarding hours of work there is a significant lack of data, which we take to indicate that in all probability the thought of definite hours has not occurred to most of the guildsmen — the hours being as long as there is light to do work. In studying the actual number of hours which the rug employees, both apprentices and workmen, put in, Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell [2] found that

[1] *Cf.* p. 162.

[2] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

must be said, however, that this industry was studied at the time of the breaking up of the guild and represents the low-water mark of ancient Chinese industrial organization. The Peking rug shops are shown as places to which boys recruited from the country districts are brought to work for three years under crowded and unsanitary conditions; then, for the most part, they are dismissed without hope of future employment, to give place to other boys who will in turn spend three years in this blind-alley profession. In the whole industry there is an average of 2.86 apprentices for each worker. "Only 25.88 per cent of the employees are skilled workers." This proportion of apprentices to workmen is not usual in Peking. Mr. Gamble's study reveals that in 1919 in the guilds the average was one apprentice to every three workmen, while a detailed study of the stores and shops in one district in Peking shows that the proportion was one apprentice to 5.8 workers.[1] These figures show the abnormal conditon of the rug industry.

In the rug industry the apprentices, working to the maximum of physical strength, are compelled to eat, sleep and work in rooms with poor light, with the air filled with cotton lint; to sleep on boards spread on the ground, and to eat their meals from bowls placed on the dirt floor adjoining their loom. Although many of the primitive conditions of this industry may no doubt be found in other guilds, Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell were dealing here with an industry in which foreign competition had wrought havoc with the old guild precedents and where the harmonious relationships of the old shop were made difficult because of the severe competition which arose when the guild organization broke down.

A true appraisal of the life of the apprentice would probably fall somewhere between the extremely rosy picture re-

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-8.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

B. The Probable Effects of the New Economic and Commercial Trends on the Values of the Guild System

Because of the extreme complexity of the political, economic and social changes now taking place in China, we cannot hope to arrive at any definite answer to the question under discussion. We can, however, point out (1) what is happening to these "values" in places where modern industry and commerce are most highly developed, (2) the forces that are apparently operating in such a way as to destroy not only the guild structure but also the values inherent in them, and (3) those movements and tendencies that may serve as means for conserving certain of these values.

(1) Social Results Following the Breaking Up of the Guilds and the Coming of Modern Industry

Child labor, unsanitary conditions, long hours and low pay are common both to the old guild system and to the modern factories.[1] In any given industry wages are probably slightly higher in the factories than they were in the guilds.[2] Factory production in many cases brings a large number of industrial accidents,[3] an increase in tuberculosis,[4] the introduc-

[1] P. Henry, *Some Aspects of the Labor Problem in China* (Geneva, 1927), pp. 14-15.

[2] Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-18 and Lewis S. Gannett, *Young China* (New York, 1926), section v, "China: the World's Proletariat," pp. 18-22.

[3] "In November 1925 a little girl of 13 was found towards 2 o'clock in the morning with her head crushed under a spinning machine in the Shanghai Cotton Mill. According to the foreman's report she had fallen asleep near the machine and had been scalped by a driving belt. Similar accidents had been reported in the Shanghai press a few months earlier —children having their lips and teeth torn away, little girls scalped, etc. Only one attempt has been made to compile accident statistics; the tables show that one-third of the children treated at the Industrial Hospital of Shanghai were totally disabled (the proportion in the case of women was

(For conclusion of this note (3) and note 4 see next page.)

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

tion of woman labor in the factory (formerly they manufactured only in the homes), night work for women and children,[1] the concentration of large numbers of workers in the large cities, with the attendant overcrowding and general bad housing conditions.[2] Labor has been recruited in many cases by labor contractors who have profited by the low wages.[3] The large number of workers in the factory unit, added to the contract system, has destroyed the former close personal relation between master and men. These and many other changes in the life of the laborers, unmitigated by enforceable labor legislation,[4] have brought discontent and class hatred, with strikes that frequently result in bloodshed.[5]

The passivity of the workers is disappearing and a class-conscious labor movement is developing. In the tending of the machine the sense of creative accomplishment has gone.

44 per cent); two-thirds of these children were victims of machinery accidents, the majority having received head or hand injuries. It was the night shifts which suffered most, as indeed happens wherever work is carried on continuously."—Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[4] Adelaide M. Anderson, *Humanity and Labour in China* (London, 1926), chap. vii, "Things Industrial Seen in China," pp. 163-202.

[1] Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[3] *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

[5] Ta Chen, *Analysis of Strikes in China from 1918 to 1926* (Shanghai, 1926) and *The Labor Movement in China*, pp. 19-20. Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21: "It is accordingly in modern factories, in spite of the immense superiority of their workshops as regards equipment, that the elements of revolt among the workers are fomented. Strikes and mutinies, the latter going so far as the assassination of foremen, increase year by year. The origin of these movements does not lie solely in the propaganda of a few leaders; they are also undoubtedly the outcome of too sudden a disturbance of the old equilibrium, of a certain social disorganization common to transition periods such as China is passing through under the influence of modern ideas, and even of the moral anarchy provoked in certain cases by the sudden abandonment of the family system."

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

trades as masonry and carpentry were only about 20,000 and 12,000 respectively. Moreover, the overcrowding of the ricksha pulling trade is not to be wondered at if one studies a little the conditions in Peking. Since on the one hand, there exists a multitude of unskilled or semi-skilled workers who have nothing to dispose of except their muscular energy, and, on the other, there is the ricksha which has become the most favoured means of transportation owing to the wretched conditions, or rather the lack of any system, of communication in and around Peking, it is only too natural that so many of the poor people should have plied the ricksha trade. It may, therefore, be concluded that the preponderance of their class among the employed males as appears in the table may be taken as a condition rather typical of the Peking working population.

HOURS AND DAYS OF WORK

As a rule, what is understood as work in China is often done in an easy and leisurely way and hardly demands such extreme hustle and activity as is required in modern factories. Accordingly, care should be taken in reading the reports on working hours of Chinese labourers, as most of them indicate only how long the stretch of work is per day and supply no idea respecting its intensity or exertion required. For those who are accustomed only to the factory work in the west, these long working hours must, therefore, be taken with a somewhat different meaning. In the course of the present inquiry, the working hours of the employed persons had been investigated but the results were found unsatisfactory on account of the reasons cited above. The rickshaman, for instance, might report that he worked nine hours a day, whereas he very seldom found himself pulling the ricksha for more than two hours in continuation. The shop assistant, again, was supposed to work for twelve hours between the opening and the closing of the shop every day whereas in fact he might be idle for many an hour during the period. However, this is not to say that long hours of work are harmless to the labourer and should, therefore, be supported, for even when a

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

466 person, say the rickshaman or the shop-assistant, is not actually occupied with work, the watchful waiting as is required of him will still demand from him some physical exertion, of which a person having a rest is generally spared. What is maintained here is that as most employments in this country have not yet been subjected to the discipline of something like the modern factory management, the working hours of such employment must not be so construed as to represent continuous, serious exertion. In other words, apart from factory work under modern management, any attempt to compare working hours in China with those in other countries should be made with caution.

The criticism against the working hours of the Chinese labourer may, of course, be applied with equal force to the working days, for the latter, as is to be expected, are necessarily also of uneven intensity. Yet the statistics of working days differs at least in one respect from that of working hours, and, that is it reveals the conditions of employment. Below is given the table on the hours and days of work of the gainfully employed persons during the six months.

Table 7.—Average Hours and Days of Work in Six Months (181 days), by Age Groups

Age group	Males			Females		
	Number	Average working hours per day	Average working days	Number	Average working hours per day	Average working days
5- 9	3	3.7	7	3	4.3	140
10-14	7	9.9	124	15	5.5	144
15-19	8	10.1	172	8	6.8	149
20-29	11	10.0	169	12	6.3	125
30-39	22	9.4	172	19	7.4	146
40-49	12	8.9	166	9	6.9	116
50-59	6	7.7	138	4	6.0	146
60 and over	3	8.0	125	4	6.3	111
All ages ...	72	9.1	154	74	6.4	137

On the average, the female workers had much shorter working hours than the male. This discrepancy may be attributed to the

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

fact that the former had to attend to household duties besides the work that brought them earnings. While the children often run such errands, as purchasing food articles or giving a helping hand to their elders, the mother as a rule are responsible for such menial work as cooking, sewing and washing.

There are only a few rest days for the Chinese labourer, as no Sundays are observed. Indeed, the Chinese tradition has made certain festivals and the new year national holidays. But persons employed in the Government service and the higher professions observe both Sundays and a number of national holidays commemorating important occasions of the Republic. Generally speaking, the working class is unaffected by these newly adopted holidays. In Table 7, it is shown that on the average the male workers had more working days than the female. Both the young and the old had more holidays in the six months under investigation, but many of the able-bodied had to work 172 days during the whole period, thus having only nine days of rest. In fact, some worked throughout the 181 days without even one holiday. Considering the fact that the working families could eke out an existence only through the daily drudgery of their members fit to work, it will therefore be no surprise for us to find that they take so few holidays. A workless day often means to them a day without livelihood.

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121 As the great majority of modern factories in this country are situated in the "foreign settlements" of various ports, we naturally turned our attention to them in our project of investigation. This again proved infeasible, as neither municipal authorities nor foreign factory managers were then in any way inclined to permit a "foreign" institution, that is, a Chinese institution, to look into what they considered affairs of their own. What right, indeed, had a "foreigner" to inquire into the working conditions of the thousands of his countrymen under their employ or jurisdiction? Under such circumstances, it is but natural that little could be done in regard to the study of Chinese labour conditions in general.

Though denied the opportunity of an extensive survey of Chinese labour, we were, however, fortunate in being able to conduct an intensive study of two factories of the modern type, the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery and the Yung Li Soda Works (or Pacific [162] Alkali Works) at Tangku. Tangku, it may be mentioned in passing, is an important town situated thirty miles southeast of Tientsin on the Pei-ho and about one-fifth of its total population, which is estimated at 5,000, is constituted by workers of the two factories. The result of this study is embodied in a Chinese report made by Mr. Sung-Ho Lin, the investigator, and the present report in English is an abridged translation of it.

121 We must confess that we were happy in the choice of these
466 two factories and this for several reasons. First, both of them are among the very few industrial enterprises in this country that are organized as well as directed by men who are well qualified for the work. Disregarding for the present the factories owned and controlled by foreigners, we may say that the majority of Chinese-owned factories are run by men usually ignorant of the technique and implications of modern industry. This is not so with the founder and managers of the two factories under consideration, however. All of them have received technical education in colleges and what is more important, have gained valuable experiences in factories in Japan or the United States. Besides, they have realized that their business does not exist solely for

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the purpose of profit-making but is a part of the gigantic process of industrialization of this country. In other words, whereas most of the Chinese industrialists usually start their enterprises with a lack of the necessary experience and knowledge which their work demands, those in connection with the factories under consideration are well equipped in both. Thus, if the former were blindly drawn to industrial pursuits, the latter entered into the field with a full consciousness of their knowledge and ability to adjust themselves and their activities to the environment. The difference between the two is certainly worthy of attention.

Secondly, the labour movement has in recent years begun to loom large on the horizon of the industrial world of this country, in spite of the stringent measures aganst it heretofore adopted by the militarist authorities and in spite of the oppressive policies pursued by factory owners or managers. In fact, the movement is gaining momentum at an amazing rate. It must be understood that if on the one hand, as is frequently alleged, a good deal of labour unrest has been due to agitation or extraneous pressure from radicals and communists, none can deny that on the other there are also genuine reasons for the dissatisfaction of the labourers and that their complaints, whatever they may be, must be looked into. As the ancient sage, Hsun-tze, says, "Worms breed only in things which have already become rotten," so no labour troubles could flourish unless the soil is already fertile for its growth and development. Now this is precisely what the managers of the two factories have anticipated and endeavoured to forestall. They believe that labour is a primary requisite in production and therefore it must be accorded due consideration. Our description of their welfare work forms an excellent illustration of the extent to which action has been taken by them in this respect.

That the managers of the two factories have always been eager to find means to improve the lot of their workers may also be found in their desire to study the needs of the workers. Thus, during his stay at the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery from March to June 1927, our investigator was afforded every facility by the authorities of the two factories to conduct his study. So long as they were not of a

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and experience of a technical nature. Apprentices are employed from time to time by the factory to be trained by skilled labourers. The term of apprenticeship is three years; but at the end of every year, they are examined. When the term of apprenticeship expires, they are promoted according to merit to the skilled class. The workers of the power house and iron workshop are regular labourers of the factory, but in the carpenter shop, apart from the regular labourers of the factory, additional labourers are occasionally employed for short periods in busy seasons. These labourers are paid daily and their nnmber is determined by the amount of work required in the factory. Masons and coolies are also employed from time to time and paid daily. These three classes of workers together with the coolies and servants of the Golden Sea Industrial Chemical Research Institute and of the Hospital are not placed on the permanent list of workers of the Chiu Ta Factory and, therefore, they do not fall within the scope of our investigation.

Workers in the factory are not graded into definite classes. For instance, a worker may be assigned to direct other workers, in order to speed up their work, but he is not supposed to be their foreman. In fact, no such title is known in the factory. He who directs the workers is given authority only during the working hours, while at other times, he is but one of their equals. All the workers have access not only to the administrative staff, but also to the chief of the managerial department. In case of any difficulty arising between the management and the workers, the chief of the department would interview the workers and exchange opinions with them. In this way, disputes, if any, are easily and amicably settled.

The factory is divided into six sections: (1) the west section of the refinery, (2) the east section of the refinery, (3) the iron workshop, (4) the power house, (5) the dormitory and (6) the salt field administration. Workers of the last four places are under the direct control of their respective administrative staffs, while workers of the salt refinery are under their own supervisors. At the end of every month, the workers are graded

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381 according to their efficiency into three classes: superior, medium, 466 and inferior, and reported to the managerial department by the supervisors who are on the staff of the management. Increase of 258 salary, distribution of bonus and dismissal of workers are all based upon this report. The chief of the managerial department, whenever he finds it necessary, conducts a personal investigation of the workers, so that no injustice is intentionally done to any body.

381 Number of Workers.—The number of workers in the factory 258 varies from time to time and is determined by its business conditions. In the prosperous year of 1925, there were 660 workers. During these years of general unrest and business depression, however, the number of workers has been reduced to about 500. The factory records of April 20, 1927, show that the number of workers was 556. They were distributed in the various sections of the factory as follows:

Table 1.—Number of Workers in the Various Sections of the Factory

Section	Number of workers	Per cent
West Section	262	47.1
East Section	207	37.2
Iron Workshop	45	8.1
Power House	15	4.0
Dormitory	22	2.7
Salt Field Administration	5	0.9
Total	556	100.0

The workers may also be classified into the skilled and the common thus:—

Skilled labourers	75	13.5%
Common labourers	481	86.5%

464 Length of Employment of the Workers.—Table 2 shows the distribution and percentage of the 556 workers according to their length of employment in the factory. As a rule, the number of workers varies in inverse proportion with the number of years:

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463 subsidiary part of the work that is, any work other than salt
381 refining, is rendered by both skilled and unskilled labourers. The skilled work includes the manufacturing of iron and wooden implements and the operation of the electric plant, while the unskilled work consists in transporting and storing products and other miscellaneous work including service and attendance. A detailed list of the various kinds of work is shown in Table 4.

● 466 The work, as a whole, is of a safe nature, and does not involve any serious danger to life. The principal work, which consist of dissolving, boiling and baking salt, carrying coal, attending to the furnace and washing salt tanks, requires physical strength. Workers with a weak constitution are liable to fall ill, especially in winter and summer. For instance, the salt boiler is apt to catch cold, after emerging from the heated room, as he has profusely perspired after serious exertions. The work of the firemen, though uncomfortable enough in summer, is rather light as compared with that of other workers. In the work of baking salt, its smell is choking. In summer the hot kang makes the temperature in the room unbearably high. This may be one of the reasons why salt bakers very frequently ask leave of absence in summer. Washing salt tank must be an unpleasant job in winter, as the hands of the worker constantly exposed to the icy cold salt water, are apt to get chilblains. There is, however, one advantage in these kinds of salt refining work, as none require continuous hard work and workers may rest at intervals.

Working Hours.—From 1916 to February of 1927, the common labourer worked 12 hours and the skilled labourer, 10 hours a day. But the eight-hour day has been adopted, since March 1927 in all kinds of work, excepting those to which the system cannot very well apply. In accordance with the nature of the work, labourers have been arranged in shifts. For the salt refining work, for instance, three shifts of men are necessary, but the blacksmiths and apprentices have only one shift, who work from 8 to 12 in the morning and 1:30 to 5:30 in the afternoon. The

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Table 4. Working Hours of Various Kinds of Work in the Factory

Kinds of work		Number of shifts	Hours per Shift
Principal work	Salt-boiling	3	8
	Salt-baking	3	8
	Firemen	3	8
	Salt-dissolving	2 or 3	8
	Pulling coal carts	1, 2 or 3	8
	Tank-washing	1	8
Subsidiary work	Firemen (power house and steam Engine)	3	8
	Electric plant	1	8
	Iron workshop	1	8
	Carpentry	1	8
	Store room	1	8
	Recorder	1	8
	Supply department	1	8
	Sundry jobs	1	8
	Bath room	1	10
	Tea kettle keeper	2	12
	Cook	2	12
	Watchman	1, 2 or 3	6, 8 or 12
	Dispatching goods	1	indefinite
	Servant	1	indefinite

three shifts are divided as follows: (1) 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. (2) 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. and (3) 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. A change of shift is effected once every week by switching the first shift to the third and the second to the first; this would allow men in the first shift to rest 32 hours, known as "the big rest" and men in the second and third shifts to rest eight hours. The two shifts are divided between (1) 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. and (2) 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. Exceptions to the eight-hour day are found as follows:

(1) 12-hour day; the change of shift being made twice at 6 a.m. and 6 p.m.

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(2) 6-hour day for those whose work is particularly heavy. The two shifts work from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. and the change is affected at 12 a.m.

(3) 10-hour day from 1 p.m. to 10 p.m.

(4) Working hours indefinite for the servants and porters.

The eight-hour day has already been effected for five months and the result is found to be quite satisfactory. The number of workers remains the same, but the output has not been diminished, as shorter hours of work have resulted in increased efficiency. To the workers, however, this change means a great deal, for they could find sufficient time to rest and seek recreation such as reading, sports, exercise, etc.

Holidays and Leaves of Absence.—There are eight and a half days' holiday in the factory in the whole year, viz. 5½ days during the old Chinese New Year, 1½ days at the Dragon Festival and 1½ days at the Mid-Autumn Festival. Sundary are not observed as rest days. The salt manufacturer as has been mentioned enjoys a long rest of 32 hours once every three weeks. Among those working under one shift and two shifts systems the longest stretch of rest is generally 16 hours.

Workers may ask leave of absence under any of the following conditions: (1) marriage (2) funeral service (3) sickness (4) accident and (5) ordinary business. The leave of absence for marriage or funeral service is granted to the extent of 30 days during which wages are paid as usual. Any day in excess of this limit is counted as absence for ordinary business, in which case the pay will be deducted accordingly. As to absence resulting from sickness or accident, the time limit is to be decided upon by the factory physician according to the seriousness of the case, no deduction of wages being made during the absence. Special considerations are given to invalid workers. Those who ask leave for ordinary business are not paid wages, and if their absence exceeds one month, even the extra month's pay at the

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end of the year is reduced in proportion to the days of absence. 460 ● Those who do not return in two months after their time limit expires are considered as honorably dismissed, but old-timers may be re-admitted, if sufficient reasons are given. Persons asking leave of absence for ordinary business may renew it for marriage or funeral service, and the renewal allowing the worker to draw his pay in the meantime up to one month is counted from the day when the letter to such effect is received. Apprentices are not allowed any leave of absence for ordinary business. New workers who have been in the factory for less than three months are not paid any wages during absence, no matter what the reason may be. Persons engaged in principal work, once absent for whatever reason, are irrevocably demoted to the class of piece job workers on their return. They are allowed to do their former work only when there are vacancies to be filled up. According to our conversation with the supervisers and workers, absence due to ordinary business is the most frequent, while sick leave comes next to it. The former generally happens around Arbour day and Old Chinese New Year, when workers visit their homes, while the latter occurs mostly in summer and winter, when work seems particularly hard. The number of times, the 289 workers in the west section have asked leave of absence in the course of the year 1926 is classified in Table 5.

Wage payments.—Wages are paid either according to the 465 number of days or according to efficiency. The earnings of the worker may be said to consist of six items: (1) wages (2) extra month's pay (3) general bonus (4) salt bonus (5) allowance for working over-time and (6) commutation of seasonal gifts.

Wages are paid monthly to workers irrespective of the number of days in each month. Wages of common labourers vary from $8.25 to $16.75, while those of skilled labourers, from $8.75 to 31.75. Apprentices are paid from $4.75 to $8.75 (see Table 6).

The minimum wage in the Chiu Ta Factory was formerly fixed at the rate of $2 a month, but meals were provided for by the factory gratis. Owing to the gradual increase in the number

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466 **Table 5.—Distribution of Leaves of Absence of Workers in the West Section of the Factory in 1926 according to Their Nature**

Month	Ordinary business	Sickness	Marriage	Funeral service	Accident	Total
January	10	6	1	1	—	18
February	31	1	2	—	2	36
March	28	5	2	1	—	36
April	38	15	1	—	—	54
May	25	7	1	1	1	35
June	22	9	—	—	—	31
July	12	12	—	—	—	24
August	11	21	—	—	—	32
September	18	15	1	3	—	37
October	18	3	—	1	—	22
November	18	5	1	—	1	25
December	12	12	1	2	2	29
Total	243	111	10	9	6	379

465 of workers, however, it was soon found inconvenient to provide meals for all and their wages were, therefore, raised to $6 per month each without meals. The rise of prices during the last four or five years has again made it necessary to raise the wages still higher by fixing $7.50 as the lowest monthly rate. It had been the practice of the factory to present every year two suits of clothing and some edibles to its workmen at festival times. Later it was considered rather troublesome to purchase the presents for the increasing number of workers and they were commuted since March 1927 into an amount of $0.75 a month or $9 a year to be paid to every worker. This brings the minimum rate a worker could receive to $8.25 a month. The apprentice, who is also benefited by the gifts, has therefore his wage raised from $4 to $4.75 a month.

Wages are increased in July but more frequently in February every year. The scale of increase was originally $.0.25, $0.50, $0.75 or $1.00 for the common labourer and $0.50, $1.00. $1.50 or $2.00 for the skilled. With the increase in the cost of living,

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CHAPTER III

WELFARE WORK OF THE CHIU TA SALT REFINERY

I. THE LIVING QUARTER OF THE WORKERS

362 When the Chiu Ta Factory was first established, a few
466 houses were reserved for workers to live in, free of charge. As the number of workers increased, a regular dormitory was built in 1924, in which 40 rooms were available for their use. The arrangement in all the rooms is more or less similar. Each room accommodates 12 persons and is furnished with chiffonier a board table, chairs and even tea sets. The men are free to choose their own room mates, so that acquaintances and friends may feel at home in living together and the management of the dormitory was thereby greatly facilitated.

The dormitory is managed on a self-governing plan by the workers, though the factory authorities reserve to themselves the right to supervise its management. Regulations governing the dormitory were, of course, drawn up by the factory.

The dormitory rooms are inspected by the authorities once in the morning for cleanliness and once in the evening in order to see whether all have turned in and are well-behaving. For the management of the dormitory, there are elected among the workers in each room two men whose duties are to supervise the conduct of their room mates, enforce the rules regarding discipline and cleanliness and report things of consequence to the managerial department. Each one in the room is, in turn, responsible for one day to clean it.

362 Cleanliness is classified by the factory authorities into five
356 grades and after the daily inspection, each room is marked
466 with a certain grade. At the end of every month, reward both in money and in kind are given to members of those rooms which have received high grading, while fines are imposed on those

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who fail to observe the rules of order and cleanliness. The rewards vary from one to five dollars, while the fines, only from 5 to 30 cents. The fines are not collected by the factory but are reserved for buying, at a later date, things that are needed in the rooms on which fines have been imposed. This system of rewards and fines is said to have worked quite satisfactorily. And our investigation well supports this view, for during the stay of the investigator in the factory, always he found the rooms well kept.

Workers having families are not provided with free lodging by the factory. As workmen who brought families to Tangku have greatly increased in recent years, the factory bought in 1926 35 rooms which have been let out to them on very reasonable terms. Again, in the summer of 1927, a group of new houses of about 33 rooms was built by the factory for the accommodation of workers' families. Some more new houses, it is said, will be put up with a view to forming in the future a Chiu Ta Community in Tangku. The factory charges only 50 to 80 cents per room as monthly rent which is barely enough for its annual repairing. Such expenses as building a doorway or walls are borne by the factory.

Water Supply.—There has never been any fresh water-supply at Tangku. Fresh water is brought over from a long distance and at a high price. It was the Chiu Ta Factory that first opened two artesian wells and furnished cold and boiled water to its resident workers. In 1927, when the price of fresh water soared up, the use of the well water was also granted to the workers who had families with them. The quantity of water each family may consume is limited according to its size.

Fuel and Light.—The resident workers are provided with electric light and heating, free of charge. Workers having families are denied this benefit, but wood shavings in the factory are distributed to them free. Again, in the east section coal dust is sold to the workers having families at 25 cents per 100 catties, while in the west section it is simply thrown away, so that those who want it may pick the same up.

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743

CONSULTATION ROOM OF THE HOSPITAL.

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FILING INTO THE DINING ROOM

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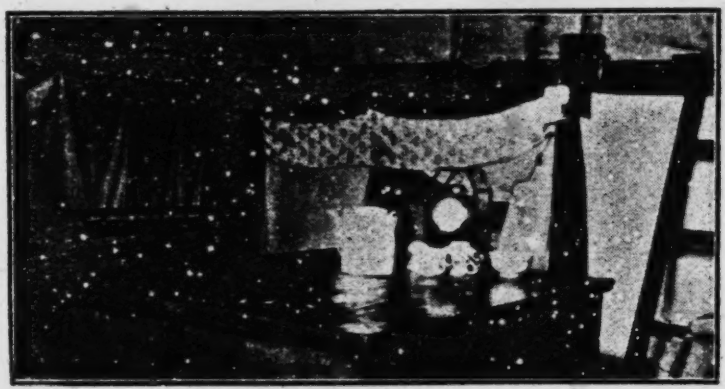

INTERIOR OF THE DORMITORY ROOM

[FACING P. 32]

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465 Commutation of Gifts.—In China, festivals are important
431 occasions, when edibles and other gifts are presented and exchanged. In the few years of its existence, the factory has made it a practice to present at various festival times to each worker 10 dumplings, ½ catty of "mid-Autumn cake," ¼ catty of dried plums, ½ catty of sugar, 10 cents for making "la-pa" porridge, a food to be taken on the eighth day of the last month in the year. Besides, the factory also presented to each worker two suits of clothing and a straw hat at festival times. All these gifts were commuted in March 1927 into an annual sum of nine dollars to be paid to each worker in monthly instalments at 75 cents.

While the seasonal gifts have been commuted into money, there remains, however, still the privilege of the workers having families to receive free salt from the factory. The husband and the wife are permitted to get every month one catty of refined salt each, free of charge, while all the other members of the family including the children get only half a catty each.

To those who do special work are given by the factory garments as well as head and foot wear. For instance, the watchman receives at the beginning of the winter season a felt hat, a fur coat and a pair of felt shoes. The dispatcher and the servant are each given a raincoat and a pair of water proof shoes.

•466 Recreation.—Recreational activities of the workers in the factory consist of indoor and outdoor sports, new year entertainments, summer conference and modern plays. The expenses for all these activities are met by fines from unexcused absences, though the greater portion is contributed by the factory.

466 (1) A room next to the Workmen's Library is reserved
524 for indoor games. There are ping-pong, chess, (such as "Wei" chess and "military" chess), and other articles of amusement. Chess games, both Chinese and foreign, are the most popular.

466 (2) Outdoor sports like the swing, the iron bar, the swing
526 bridge, stone weights, etc. are very much liked by the workers. These apparatuses are installed in the courtyard of the work-

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466 526 men's dormitory. Ball games, in particular the soccer, are also popular. Contests are often arranged with the workers of the Pacific Alkali Factory, and occasionally with the students of the Tangshan Engineering College.

(3) Typical Chinese new year amusements are very much liked by the workers. They are the dragon-lantern, lion-dance, fancy dress stilts, singing, and the boat-and-cart-shows. Owing to unsettled social and political conditions in these years, workers are not so enthusiatic for these shows as they used to be.

(4) A summer conference was held in 1925 by pupils in the Workmen's School. In the conference were held personal interviews, track and field meets, swinging contests, boxing, story telling, music and moving pictures for the amusements of the workers. This conference was discontinued in later years.

466 545 (5) Modern plays are performed by workers and members of the administrative staff. From 1921 to 1925, there were held theatrical performances of this kind two or three times a year. None, however, have been performed during recent years on account of the disturbed conditions in the country.

II. EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

466 873 Among the educational facilities provided by the Chiu Ta Factory may be mentioned: (1) the Workmen's School (2) the Ming Shin Primary School and (3) general educational facilities.

The Workmen's School.—The Workmen's School was first established in March 1921, its teachers being recruited from the administrative staff. But it was closed in June 1923, on account of the difficulty in getting enthusiastic teachers. Under a reorganization plan, in which the Chiu Ta Factory pledged 60 per cent and the Pacific Alkali Works 40 per cent of the total expenses for the support of the school, it was reopened in August 1924. There are in the new school two grades, the general and the special, the courses in each grade extending to three years. One paid teacher is employed to teach the Chinese language, while members of the adminstrative staff volunteer their services to teach other subjects or courses.

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Books and stationery are all supplied to the workmen free of charge. The curriculum of this school is listed below:

Class		Subjects	Hours per week
General grade	1st year	National Language	2 hours
		Penmanship	1 hour
	2nd year	National Language	2 hours
		Penmanship	1 hour
		Abacus Practice	1 hour
	3rd year	National Language	2 hours
		Penmanship	2 hours
		Abacus Practice	1 hour
Special grade	1st year	National Language	2 hours
		English	2 hours
		Arithmetic	2 hours
	2nd year	English	2 hours
		Arithmetic	2 hours
		National Language	1 hour
		Drawing	1 hour
	3rd year	Ditto.	Ditto

In the first year of the general grade, the workers are first taught Chinese characters and then sentence construction. In the second year, lessons on letter-writing in *pai hua* (spoken language) are added. In the third year, lessons on useful knowledge are offered. Lessons in English and arithmetic are similar to what are usually taught in the primary school. Drawing lessons are of an elementary nature which may be of some use to skilled workers. Since February 1925, the factory authorities have promulgated rules making the workers under 25 years of age attend the school compulsory. Those who joined the class in 1924 are all required to finish their courses at the school; while those who quit the school before graduation are required to pay the expenses for books and stationery supplied. Absence without cause is fined 10 cents each time.

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466
873 On account of the frequent change of work among the labourers, no accurate report of those attending school has yet been ascertained. It has, however, been estimated that, on the average, 350 attend the school every year. The following table shows the enrollment of students from the five sources in the winter term of 1926 as distributed in the various classes.

Table 7.—The Enrollment at the Workmen's School Classified According to Classes in the Winter of 1926

Class	Number of Students enrolled from					Total
	Chiu Ta	Pacific	Golden Sea	Hospital	Servants of private families	
Special 2nd	7	4	1	—	—	12
Special 1st	9	14	1	—	—	24
General 3rd	36	19	1	1	1	58
General 2nd	92	25	3	1	—	121
General 1st	95	25	1	1	2	124
Total	239	87	7	3	3	339

It is shown in Table 7 that the Chiu Ta workers constituted two-thirds of the total number of workers attending school. According to the factory records in April 1927, the proportion between the workers who attended the school and those who did not was found to be as follows :

Table 8.—Number of Workers Attending School Classified According to Sections of the Chiu Ta Factory

Section	Total number of workers	Workers attending school	
		Number	Per cent
West Section	262	111	42.4
East Section	207	117	56.5
Salt Field Administration	5	4	80.0
Dormitory	22	13	59.1
Iron Workshop	45	37	82.2
Power House	15	7	46.7
Total	556	289	52.0

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The Ming Shin Primary School.—Primary education at Tangku has always been far from satisfactory. Those who have families with them at Tangku sorely felt the need of a good elementary school where their children might be properly educated. The general manager of the Chiu Ta Company having been informed of the situation was generous enough to donate a sum in February 1925, for the founding of a private school where the children of workers as well as those of administrative staff members are admitted free of tuition. Children whose parents are not connected with the Company are charged $6 a year, payable in two terms. There are two grades offered by the school (1) the elementary grade with 4 years' course and (2) the advanced grade with two years' courses. The curriculum of the school is similar to that in other primary schools except that vocational subjects are taught to advanced grade students. The courses of the two grades are as follows:—

Elementary grade.—National language, arithmetic, nature study, social study, drawing, manual training, music, physical exercises.

Advanced grade.—National language, arithmetic, history, geography, hygiene, civics, nature study, English, useful knowledge of commerce and agriculture, drawing, manual training, music and physical exercises.

The enrollment of the school in 1925 was 19, but it has increased to 92 in 1927. There were at the time of the investigation 61 boys and 31 girls. They were drawn from the following families: administrative staff 33, workers 18, others 41.

General Educational Facilities.—Under this heading may be mentioned the library and public lectures. (1) The Workmen's Library contains daily newspapers and books of about 1,000 volumes which were presented by other institutions and individuals. In July 1927, some more books were purchased. It is a pity that the workers cannot make good use of the books, as some of them are written in rather difficult language. (2) From 1923

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466 873 to 1926, public lectures were given once or twice each week with a view to imparting general and practical knowledge to the workers.

III. SANITARY WORK

466 It is impossible to give in full detail the sanitary work in the Chiu Ta Factory; but, for our purpose, we shall confine ourselves to the sanitary measures adopted in the factory and the dormitory and also the good work carried on at the hospital.

Sanitary Work in the Factory.—The buildings of the Chiu Ta Factory were not constructed under a systematic plan; consequently, some of them were not so suitable to the work as they should be. But it appears that the buildings completed at a later date were much improved. On the whole, the working conditions must be considered wholesome. For instance, the work of boiling and baking salt is carried on in separate rooms, so that the smoke or steam of one room will not drift into the other rooms, so as to interfere with the various kinds of work going on there. Besides, a ventilator was installed in order to enable a constant circulation of air in the room. Since 1926, the factory began to pay more and more attention to sanitation and safety, and it seems that the sanitary conditions will be still more improved in the near future.

The various kinds of work in the factory are not of a risky nature. Yet, certain wearing articles are provided by the factory, in order to reduce the hardships of the workers. For instance, the *kang* on which salt is baked is too hot for men with ordinary shoes to walk on. Wooden clogs are, therefore, made for salt bakers to wear during working time. The brine in the salt tank causes irritation particularly in the winter on the skin of the washer and in order to prevent this trouble, gloves are provided for washing the tank. The salt-boiler and tank-washer often put on waste salt bags to protect their bodies from the dampness of the air.

In order to keep the product clean, spitting is strictly prohibited in the salt refining room. One worker is said to have

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been immediately discharged, when he was discovered violating 466
the rule.

Sanitary Work in the Dormitory.—The dormitory is built 466
with an open space before it, so that it gets plenty of sunshine 305
and air. In the dormitory, there are provided a barber shop, a bath room, a toilet room and a laundry room. (1) The furnishings and equipment of the barber shop are provided by the factory. Very reasonable rates are charged for shaves and haircuts. (2) A permit, to be procured from the supervisers, is 466
required for taking bath. In this way, a record is kept by 515
the supervisers of the number of baths taken by the workers. A notice is served to those who entirely neglect bathing. However, on account of the frequent transfer of the bath permits among the workers, negligent cases could not be traced. (3) The toilet room is furnished with hot and cold water pipes. But for lack of repair, the room has unfortunately fallen into disuse. (4) The factory once attempted to employ laundry men for the workers, but they were not patronized; and in order to save laundry expenses, the workers prefer to wash their own clothing in the laundry rooms provided by the factory.

The Hospital.—In its early days, the Chiu Ta Factory had 466
only a small number of workers, for whom medical services were 743
scarcely needed. The few cases which needed treatment were taken care of by the Peking-Mukden Railway Hospital, which was paid by the factory. It was soon felt that this arrangement was not satisfactory, when the number of workers had increased. So in 1924, a hospital was established under the joint auspices of the factory and the Pacific Alkali Works. There are in this hospital five wards which accommodate 24 patients. The medical service is rendered free of charge to members of the administrative staff and the workmen of the two factories. The hospital is in charge of a physician, a graduate from a medical college in Japan. He has on his staff two assistants and one junior clerk. The running expenses of the hospital are about $5,000 a year.

In addition to the usual medical service, the hospital is also

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466 743 responsible for the following three duties: (1) physical examination of the workers, (2) prevention of epidemics, and (3) sanitary inspection of the factory.

Physical examination is required of both new and old workers. Any workman who is found to have contracted venereal disease is dismissed immediately. The pupils of the Ming Shin Primary School are also examined at regular intervals.

466 743 751 For the prevention of epidemics, the hospital is stocked with various kinds of anti-toxins. Every worker connected with the factory must be vaccinated, the aged ones alone being exempted. Two days are reserved by the hospital every year for giving free vaccination to the inhabitants of Tangku. In case there occurs an epidemic at Tangku, the workers are immediately noticed and taught preventive measures.

Inspection is held from time to time by the physician of the hospital. Preventive measures for sickness are prescribed for the workers.

164 127 The hospital possesses complete records of cases treated, such as registration cards, diagnoses, prescriptions, diaries of the physician and nurses, and so on. These have lately been carefully studied by the physician and have been compiled into statistics. A part of these statistics, limited to the period from October 1924 to September 1925, is now available for our use and we present them in the appendix of this book.

164 466 From the statistics of sickness and our personal observations, it may be concluded that diarrhoea is the most common disease among the inhabitants of Tangku as well as the Chiu Ta workers. The diseases typical of the Chiu Ta workers are of four kinds. (1) Cold.—They are easily contracted by workers after strenuous exertion and perspiration. (2) Skin inflammation.—This is caused by the dampness of the air and cold vapour in the salt refining room. Its prevalence can be gauged from the fact that as many as 437 cases occurred in the whole year. Skin inflammation is, in fact, an occupational disease. (3) Burns.—This is usually due to contact with boiled brine and hot iron implements. The careless handling of the latter is the sole

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cause of this kind of accidents. (4) Bruises.—1050 cases have been recorded in one year. Fortunately all the cases were slight in nature. According to our conversation with the workers, the salt boilers and bakers easily suffer from coughing and hypersecretion in the eyes which are often caused by the excessive heat in salt refining.

IV. COMPENSATION AND MUTUAL AID AGENCIES

Compensation.—According to the compensation provision in the regulations of the factory, compensations or rewards are given to workers under the following conditions:—

Art. 1. "Any worker who has rendered satisfactory service to the factory for more than eight years shall receive a special reward."

Art. 2. "Any worker who retires on account of invalidity or old age after having been in the service of the factory for more than ten years shall receive as reward a sum not less than $50 but not more than $150."

Art. 3. "Any worker wounded or disabled while engaged in the work of the factory shall receive as compensation a sum not less than $20 but not more than $60."

Art. 4. "Any worker who dies while engaged in the work of the factory, shall receive a sum not less than $60 or more than $200 for his funeral expenses."

The first two articles have not become operative so far, as only one worker was paid $100 on his retirement on account of blindness. Article 4 has practically remained a dead letter, as no death has ever occurred in connection with factory work. Thus only the third article is being carried out and during the last few years, the amount of compensation has been increased from $60 to $100.

Apart from the compensation for old age, casualty and mortality, the factory has always been generous in giving relief to the families of deceased workers. Thus, if a worker dies at Tangku, a sum of $50 is paid to his family to be disposed of as its people see fit. In case he is extremely poor, a coffin is given

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466 free. If the worker dies either on his way home or at home, $20 is given to his family. In the case of the death of a member of the worker's family, a coffin may also be given free if the request is found justified.

466 456 Mutual Aid Society.—The Mutual Aid Society was originally started by a group of workers in the Chiu Ta east section. The purpose of this society was formerly limited to raising funds for funeral and marriage expenses of their friends. But it was later expanded to include all workers of the factory. The necessity for organizing such a society was also felt by members of the administrative staff as they were constantly required to make gifts of money on the occasion of the marriage or death of the workers. As a result of this, Mutual Aid Society of the workers began to admit the administrative staff members from May 1927, but the latter were only making conrtibutions without enjoying the benefit of the society. A sum of 30 cents is charged every member as initiation fee; and the monthly contribution of each "administrative" member is 10 cents and that of the "working" member is 5 cents. The sum thus accumulated is to be disbursed to the workers in the following way :—

(1) $10 for marriage expenses of a worker;

(2) $10 for the funeral expenses of the parent or the wife of a worker;

(3) $30 to the orphan of a worker, or to the worker's parents having on offspring to take care of them. $15 to the parents of a worker who has brothers to take care of them.

(4) For workers who, on account of disability or serious illness, wish to go home but are short of travelling expenses, the allowance is to be determined according to circumstances.

The affairs of the society are executed by a board of fifteen. They are elected by ballot, two from among the administrative staff members, and 13 from among the workers. Their term of office is two years, but may be renewed. The manager and assistant manager are elected from among the members of the

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board. The duty of the manager is to attend to the accounts of the society and to call meetings and make financial reports. 466 456

An annual meeting is held on April lst, at which all business of the society is discussed. New workers are admitted after having been three months in the employ of the company. Those who fail to pay monthly membership dues forfeit the privilege of membership.

The Consumers' Cooperative Store.—A store selling sundry articles was opened by some private person in the early days of the factory. But as the store was conducted on a business basis, with an eye to profit making, complaints were frequently lodged by the workers against high prices it charged for articles. The store was then closed by the factory, and, in its stead, a cooperative store of the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery and the Pacific Alkali Works was founded in April, 1927. The capital shares were subscribed by the staff members and workmen of these two factories. Each share is two dollars. A staff member is enititled to buy two shares and a workman, one share. In 1927, the capital was about $2,600. Both edibles and sundry articles of daily use are on sale at the store. It is further comtemplated to sell at the store rice and flour at a specially reduced price. There are in this store one manager who serves concurrently as the proctor of the dormitory, three salesmen and two clerks for keeping accounts. There is, besides, a board of five directors, whose function is to determine the general policy of the store, the kinds of goods to be stocked with and the prices. The price of articles is fixed in such a way as to leave a little margin for profits to be distributed in the following way: (1) 10 per cent to be paid as bonus to the store manager (2) 20 per cent to the salesmen and clerks (3) the remaining 70 per cent being distributed *pro rata* to the shareholders. Business at the store varies with the time of the month. According to its salesmen, more business is done during the first half of the month after the worker is paid his wage, but it gradually declines, during the latter half of the month when his wage is gradually spent. That is to say, the purchasing capacity of 466 474

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the workman dwindles slowly after the payment of his wage until he is paid again in the next month.

V. SYSTEMS OF SAVINGS DEPOSIT AND FAMILY REMITTANCE

For the purpose of encouraging thrift and promoting the welfare of the worker, the factory has installed two systems, (1) the savings deposit and (2) the family remittance. First any workman of the factory may open a savings account with the managerial department which, in turn, transfers the deposit to the accounting department at Tientsin. The deposit must not be less than 50 cents (silver) each time. The monthly rate of interest is 10 per cent for every dollar deposited and the interest is paid to the workman every month with his wages Secondly, the factory renders gratuitous service to the workman in remitting his money to his family. In order to prevent the abuse of this privilege, workers are required first to deposit the money to be remitted. The period for the drawing of the deposit is limited to the first five days of each month. It is to be remembered, however, that the worker's savings do not necessarily constitute his total savings, nor does the remittance necessarily constitute the total amount remitted. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the factory handles a greater part of these two items. Let us now study the figures of savings deposits from January 1926 to June 1927 and the figures of remittances from January 1925 to June 1927 which are taken from the factory records.

First there is noticeable in Table 9 a general tendency that the total number of depositors formed a definite proportion to the total number of workers in the factory. On the average, three-fourths of the workers deposited their savings with the factory, while the remaining a quarter either did not have any savings at all or did not entrust them to the factory. Yet it should be pointed out that a departure from this tendency occurred at times, due either to abnormal conditions of the country or to a high rate of turn-over among the workers. For instance, the percentage of depositors rose to 83.4 in March 1926 and dropped to 60.9 in December of the same year. The high percentage in

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463 mongers, whose work is, as a rule, fixed, all the workers are frequently required to change their jobs. The number of labourers engaged in the various kinds of work, as a rule, fluctuates with the amount of the principal work to be done. For instance, when all the six shops of the factory are in operation, more men would be needed to carry on salt refining work and as a consequence, the number of men engaged in the subsidiary work would be reduced. If, on the contrary, there is little principal work, then the superfluous men would go to swell the group of subsidiary workers. It is in this way that the

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Table 16.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of the 86 Resident Workers

Kinds of work		Working hours	Number of workers
Principal work	Salt boiling	8	12
	Salt baking	8	6
	Salt dissolving	8	5
	Coal carrier	8	2
	Firemen	8	2
	Total		26
Subsidiary work	Iron workshop	8	6
	Carpentry	8	2
	Electric plant	8	2
	Store room	8	1
	Recorder	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	30
	Watchman at salt field	6	1
	Watchman	12	10
	Cook	12	1
	Tea kettle keeper	12	1
	Dispatcher	indefinite	1
	Dining room attendant	indefinite	3
	Total		60
Grand total			86

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labourers of the factory are maintained during slack times without causing unemployment among them. The predominance of subsidiary workers, as is shown in Table 16, is because of the fact that, at the time of our investigation, salt production in the factory was very much curtailed on account of the depressed conditions of the trade, and a greater number of labourers engaged in the principal work had to be transferred to do subsidiary work. Among the 86 resident workers, 71 worked eight hours a day. This shows the fact that the eight-hour day is the prevailing system in the factory.

As regards the length of employment of the 86 resident workers it was found that 26 workers have been in the employ from one to three years, 42 workers from four to six years, 17 workers from seven to nine years, and one ten years. This agrees approximately with the result of our investigation concerning the workers of the whole factory.

It may be interesting to find out what had been the occupations of the 86 workers before they came to the factory. They were agricultural workers 51, skilled labourers 9, servants 3, coolies 10, mercantile employees 12, and soldier 1. In the foregoing classification, "agricultural workers" include farmers, tenants and farm hands; "skilled labourers" include the old-type skilled workers, artisans and handicraftsmen; "servants" include office boys. The nature of the other three kinds of occupation is self-explanatory. All these may be consolidated under two classes, viz. (1) Agricultural workers and (2) industrial workers. It is noteworthy that 51 agricultural workers have turned themselves into industrial hands. The reasons for the change of work from the soil to the factory are many, and it seems that natural calamities, like flood and famine, and social disturbances, like banditry and civil war, have contributed to render country sides in various parts of China almost uninhabitable. Large numbers of peasants have, therefore, been compelled to leave their homes and seek a livelihood in towns. Some have migrated to towns with the hope of improving their standard of living, while others have left their homes simply because of unpleasant family relations.

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28 per cent is over 39. The average age is 34. 37. Compared with resident workers, whom we have already described in the preceding chapter, those having families seemed to be older, as more persons concentrated in the 30-39 age interval rather than in the 20-29 age interval.

The work of the 61 operatives at the factory at the time of the investigation may be tabulated as follows:

Table 27.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of 61 Chiu Ta Workers Having Families

Kinds of work		Working hours	Number of workers
Principal work	Salt boiling	8	2
	Salt baking	8	1
	Salt dissolving	8	2
	Firemen	8	2
	Total		7
Subsidiary work	Iron workshop	8	8
	Carpentry	8	2
	Electric plant	8	5
	Store room	8	3
	Recorder	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	24
	Watchman	12	2
	Cook	12	2
	Tea kettle keeper	12	2
	Dispatcher	indefinite	1
	Servant	indefinite	2
	Total		39
Grand total			61

The previous occupations pursued by these 61 workers were found to be: agricultural work 22, skilled work 8, unskilled work 22, mercantile 9, and soldier and police 3.

The families of these 61 workers were small in size, the average size being 3.72 persons. More than two-thirds of the

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with a view to getting some extra pay.

In our investigation, workers of a temporary nature or under a contract were excluded. The total number of regular workers of the Pacific Alkali Works at the time of our investigation, was 511, of which six were foremen. They are considered superior to ordinary workers and are often as highly paid as members on the administrative staff. Their monthly wages in the various kinds of work were: iron work, $75.75 (silver.); electrical work, $52.75; casting, $42.75; moulding, $38.75; riveting, $36.75 and carpentry, $24.75. Thus, they were also excluded in our study and there remained 505 workers in the other five classes. Table 41 shows the distribution and percentage of these workers.

Table 41.—Number of Workers in the Factory, by Classes

Class	Number of workers	Per cent
Mechanics	87	17
Firemen	15	2
Assistants	22	5
Apprentices	32	6
Common workers	349	70
Total	505	100

Most of the 505 workers came from Chihli and Shantung. On account of the fact that a great majority of the skilled workers were from Tientsin and Tangku, the number of workers from Chihli far exceeded those from Shantung. This is shown in Table 42 on the next page.

All affairs concerning workers are in the hands of the administrative department and, based upon reports from engineers and supervisers, a record of merit or demerit is kept of each worker. For the purpose of promoting working efficiency, the department has enforced rules governing rewards and fines. Rewards are of three kinds: (1) medal, (2) money prize and (3) wage increase. The money prize varies from one dollar to 30 dollars. Punishments also take three forms: (1) dismissal,

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(2) fine and (3) wage reduction. Although chances for getting rewards and punishments are many, yet during these two years, only fines have commonly been inflicted, the amounts being from 10 to 30 cents at a time.

Table 42.—Nativity of Pacific Workers (According to the Factory Record)

	Number of workers	Per cent
Chihli	230	45.5
Shantung	157	31.1
Metropolitan District	24	4.8
Honan	9	1.8
Kwangtung	7	1.4
Hunan	2	0.4
Chekiang	2	0.4
Kiangsu	1	0.2
Anhwei	1	0.2
Unknown	72	14.3
Total	505	100.0

New workers are employed from time to time by the factory. As soon as the news of recruiting workers is known, the old workers usually would introduce any number of their friends for application. The applicants are, first, given a physical examination and, then, a personal interview with the head of the administrative department. If they are qualified at both the examination and the interview, they would be admitted on trial for at least two weeks. When their work proves to be satisfactory, they are then admitted as regular workers and have their wages fixed by the factory authorities. In the meantime, the factory issues a certificate to each on which are printed his name, kind of work and daily wage. According to the regulation, worker's certificates must be renewed every year and any increase in wage should be duly recorded, but this practice has not been followed.

The common worker may be discharged at one week's notice under any of the following conditions: (1) Too weak to do the required work. (2) Absence exceeding 50 days. (3) When a

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466 reduction of work in the factory is found necessary. (4) Violation of the factory regulations by the worker.

The worker may request an honourable dismissal from the factory by giving a week's notice, provided that he is unable to do any more work on account of bad health or on other reasonable grounds. A certificate may be issued to him, if he so desires, stating his work, wages and the reason for his honourable discharge.

464 Owing to frequent suspension of work during the early years of the factory, many workers left the place on account of its instability. The rate of turnover was consequently rather high. It was about 20 per cent in 1926. But it may be presumed that the growing prosperity of the Company would, in time, diminish the rate of turnover.

466 It has been mentioned that soda manufacturing is entirely machine work. As many of the workers, on entering the factory, were fresh from the country and had never seen the structure and working of the complicated mechanical contrivances before, they were, at first, apt to meet with accidents of one kind or another. The engineers and their assistants had to direct and supervise very carefully their handling of machinery, in order to avoid danger. Through instruction and experience, however, accidents have been greatly reduced recently. Apart from accidents caused by machinery, burns and colds are easily contracted by firemen and boiler tenders, as they are constantly exposed to fire or excessive heat. But above all, it is the ammonia gas that affects the workers worst. It chokes them and in particular, it causes nausea and indigestion. All these conditions often bring about what may be called occupational diseases of the soda workers, but it is to be noted that the factory is now endeavouring to reduce their seriousness.

Before March 1927, the working hours were either 8 hours or 12 hours a day, but the former was considered the general rule. Those who worked 12 hours a day were given an additional 20 per cent of the daily wage as the overtime pay for the extra four hours' work. The 12-hour day has been abolished, since

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March 1927 and all workers are now working in eight-hour shifts. 466 The three shifts are: (1) 6 a. m. to 2 p. m. (2) 2 p. m. to 10 p. m. and (3) 10 p. m. to 6 a. m. The change of shifts is effected once every week in the same manner as in the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery.

Some skilled workers have only one shift and they work daily from 8 to 12 a. m. and from 1:30 to 5:30 p. m. Blacksmiths may have to work longer hours, while engaged in casting. The unskilled work adopts the two-shift system which runs from 6 a. m. to 2 p. m. and from 2 p. m. to 10 p. m. There is a change of shifts every week. The working hours of the servants and cooks are not so rigidly fixed. The watchman works 12 hours a day regularly. Five minutes are allowed the worker for coming late, after which a fine of from 10 to 30 cents is imposed.

Nominally altogether 35 holidays are allowed the workers in a year, but as the machinery must be kept running throughout the whole year, holidays and Sunday rest cannot be observed. The workers are, therefore, given an extra month's pay each at the end of the year.

Workers may ask leave of absence for any of the following reasons: marriage, funeral service, sickness, and ordinary business. Workers who are absent for more than 50 days at a time are dismissed without any consideration. In the case of absence for one's own marriage or funeral of his parents, the time limit is to be fixed by the factory, according to the distance to be traversed by the worker for attending such functions; and his wage is paid as usual on such occasions. In the case of the funeral of a brother or wife, absence is permitted of one week only without any deduction of wage. Absence on account of sickness is fixed on the recommendation of the physician of the hospital. No deduction of wage is made within a fortnight. If the worker has been ill for over a month, he is sent home with one month's wage, Workers injured during work are paid wages as usual. For those disabled by accidents, suitable employment is found for them by the factory. Absence for ordinary business entails a deduction of wages according to the number of days absent.

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II. WELFARE WORK

466 Welfare work cannot, as yet, be said to be a special feature of the Works, as it is still in its infancy. The few kinds of welfare work that the workers and members on the administrative staff are privileged to enjoy are undertaken jointly with the Chiu Ta Refinery. They are the Workmen's School, the Factory Hospital, the Cooperative Store and the Ming Shin Primary School, all of which have been dealt with in detail in a former chapter.

466 362 Dormitory.—At the time of our investigation, the Pacific workers were living in four temporary residences pending the construction of a regular dormitory.

There were six rooms in Residence A, a part of the Chiu Ta dormitory, accomodating 72 men. The arrangement and discipline in this residence were all copied from the Chiu Ta Dormitory, but as there was no daily inspection, the place was not neatly kept up. Residence B was an inn of 20 rooms in which lived 120 men, mostly skilled workers. The residence seemed to be rather overcrowded, for the size of the rooms could hardly allow six or seven persons to live in each. About thirty workers, mostly assistants and store room keepers, lived in Residence C, a mud house of 10 rooms. Two rooms were used for cooking and for meals. The place was managed by the workers alone. It was found that a remarkable degree of cleanliness, much higher than in the other residences, had been attained here. Not only the courtyard was spacious and the roofs were high, but chairs and tables were provided for those who might like to read and write letters. Residence D consisting of 8 rooms accommodated 80 persons. Large windows permitted the rooms to be flooded with light, but the ceiling was rather too low.

It has been observed that conditions of the four residences differ from one another. If two of them seem to be fairly satisfactory, the other two leave much to be desired. It seems impossible for the factory authorities to enforce rules of sanitation and discipline in all the residences, as they were widely scattered, and to do so would entail extra services and extra men

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on the part of the factory. It is hoped that when the new dormitory is completed, the workers might find a better environment to live in.

Food, Fuel and Light.—As far as possible, every facility is accorded by the factory to its workers, in order to make their living comfortable. A few of these facilities may now be mentioned. There is an artesian well drilled by the factory and fresh water from the well is distributed free to the various residential quarters of the workers. Stoves and coal that are needed in the worker's quarters in the winter are also provided by the factory. For meals, workers have the option of using the dining room of the Chiu Ta dormitory or doing their own cooking. In the former case tickets for buying meals are advanced to the workers, the value of which is deducted from their pay at the end of the month. In the latter case, stoves, coal and other cooking facilities are furnished. A third alternative adopted by some workers is to form a group whose members agree to have their meals provided by a special cook. In this case, both the cooking service and coal for the fire are provided free by the factory. There were at the time of the investigation two groups of this kind in existence. The one in Residence B consisted of about thirty members, each of whom paid about $6.50 a month for food. The kitchen service was supervised by the workers who served in groups of two by rotation. In Residence C, about twenty workers formed a group and each paid about $5.50 a month for food. A committee composed of the representatives of all the rooms in the residence supervised the kitchen service, but, in fact, the work was delegated to its chairman alone.

Sanitary Conditions.—As the Factory Hospital is a cooperative enterprise of Chiu Ta and the Pacific Alkali Works, workers belonging to the latter are, therefore, accorded the same treatment in the hospital as those of the former. Facilities for hair-cutting and bathing are also afforded the Pacific workers at the Chiu Ta barber shop and bath room. Arrangement has been made by the factory with a bath house in the town where the Pacific workers may take baths at regular intervals, free of charge. The bath is regularly frequented by them.

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466 bath is regularly frequented by them.

Compensation.—According to the regulations of the factory, workers are compensated under any of the following conditions: (1) death in connection with the performance of duty, (2) death as a result of sickness, (3) accident or disability owing to factory work.

To a common worker who died in connection with his work, the factory gives a coffin and burial garments to the value of $60; and, in addition, compensation is given to this family according to the schedule in the following table.

Table 45.—Amount of Compensation for Workers, According to Number of Years in the Factory

Number of years in the factory	Amount of compensation
Less than 1 year	One month's pay for every month in the factory
1 year and under 2 years	pay of 6 months
2 years and under 4 years	pay of 10 months
4 years and under 6 years	pay of 18 months
6 years and under 8 years	pay of 24 months
8 years and under 11 years	pay of 30 months
11 years and over	pay of 36 months

The amount of compensation may be increased with the consent of the general manager, if the worker has rendered meritorious service to the factory. An additional three months' pay may be given to the family, if the worker leaves no offspring to look after it. Passage money may be given to the family of the deceased worker for returning home.

A worker who died of illness will receive a coffin and burial garments worth about $60. and also the wage of the month in which his death occurs. If the deceased worker has been in the employ of the factory for more than two years, special compensation may be given, in addition to the above. Passage allowance may also be given to the family, if it is too poor to travel back to its home.

The worker who is injured or disabled owing is factory work is compensated according to the degree of disability. (1) For

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total disablement, the total amount of compensation as stated in Table 45 is given. (2) For partial disablement which renders the worker unable to pursue any more his original occupation, 70 per cent of the compensation is given. (3) Where disablement renders the worker defective but does not interfere with the pursuit of his original work, 50 per cent of the compensation is given.

The Family Remittance.—The family remittance system in this factory is the same as that in Chiu Ta. Given the address and the name of the recipient, the factory will send the money to the home of the worker without charge. There were about thirty workers remitting money home through the factory every month and the total amount of remittances was about $1,000 a year.

III. A SAMPLE STUDY OF 50 PACIFIC RESIDENT WORKERS.

Out of 505 workers in the Works, 53, that is a little less than one-tenth, were investigated. Three apprentices were excluded from this number, because their standard of living was different from that of the other workers. We are thus left for our study only data for 50 workers. The data of the cost of living refer to the yearly period, July 1926 to June, 1927, a period of normal conditions and comparative tranquillity. It is shown in Table 46 that assistants, being 31.8 per cent of the total of that class, are better represented than any other class of workers. Firemen

Table 46.—Total Number of Workers and Number of Workers Investigated, by Classes

Class of workers	Total number of workers	Workers investigated	
		Numbers	Per cent
Machanics	87	10	11.3
Firemen	15	4	26.6
Assistants	22	7	31.8
Common workers	349	29	8.3
Apprentices	32	—	—
Total	505	50	9.9

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represent 26.6 per cent of the total of that class, mechanics 11.3 per cent, and common workers 8.3 per cent.

Regarding the nativity of the 50 workers under investigation, most of the mechanics and assistants were from Chihli and most of the firemen and common labourers from Shantung. This reflects in general the nativity distribution of the total number of workers.

The age of the 50 workers was comparatively young, for 23 of them were below the age of 25, 18 between the ages of 26 and 35, and 9 between the ages of 36 and 40. No worker was older than 40.

Table 47 shows the kinds of work and working hours of the 50 workers. Mechanics, firemen and assistants generally have fixed work, while common labourers often change their jobs in the factory.

Table 47.—Kinds of Work and Working Hours of 50 Resident Workers

Class of workers		Working hours	Number of workers
	Mechanics	8	10
	Firemen	8	4
	Assistants	8	7
Common workers	Soda worker	8	13
	Cleaner	8	5
	Repairing	8	2
	Store keeper	8	2
	Sundry job worker	8	1
	Coal-carrier	8	1
	Tea-room attendant	12	1
	Watchman	12	3
	Dustman	indefinite	1
	Total	.....	50

The various kinds of occupation which these workers had pursued before they joined the factory were as follows: farmers 22, artisans and workers 12, coolies 5, merchants 7 and students 4. Mechanics, being skilled workers, are recruited largely from

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The workers of these two factories, as shown by their nativity and previous occupations, were largely recruited from the farmer class of Chihli and Shantung. This movement from country to town is rather significant. It appears to be a natural phenomenon in the industrialization of China. As political and economic conditions of the country improve, industry will surely develop, and the migration of working population from agricultural to industrial field together with the rise of industrial towns will undoutedly be still greater with the consequence that social conditions of this country will be greatly changed.

Both factories have adopted the eight-hour day since March, 1927. Workers, with a few exceptions, have been arranged into shifts and changes of shifts are effected every Sunday. This system, popular as it is in western factories, is not generally practiced in this country. Factory employers, governmental officials and even managers of foreign factories hesitate to adopt this system on the ground that Chinese labourers are not so efficient as foreigners. Chiu Ta and Pacific, although not the first to make this venture, however, supply a good illustration that the system can work well in China as well as in western countries. It has been proved that the eight-hour day not only gives spare time to the workers for recreation and intellectual pursuits, but also increases their efficiency to some extent. We hope that the experience of these two factories will convince employers in China, both foreign and Chinese, of the benefit of adopting the eight-hour day.

With regard to rest and holiday, Pacific Works gives in fact none, while the Chiu Ta Factory gives only 8½ days in the whole year. It is the opinion of the factory authorities that a rest day is unnecessary unless the worker knows how to utilize it, so they are liberal in granting leave of absence instead of giving the usual Sunday rest. Any worker may ask leave of absence for accident, sickness, marriage, or funeral service with pay, or for ordinary business without pay. The time for absence is either determined by the factory physician in case of accident or sickness, or limited to a certain number of days in other cases.

The welfare work of these factories also needs special

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466 mention. A factory hospital, a workmen's school and a consumers' co-operative store are operated by both factories, while the Ming Hsin Primary School, supported by the Chiu Ta Factory, provided excellent educational facilities for children of workers and staff members. The Chiu Ta Factory, operating ten years earlier than the Pacific, surpasses the latter in several respects of welfare work. There are in the Chiu Ta Workmen's Dormitory, 40 bed rooms, 5 sickrooms, 2 classrooms and rooms for dining, bathing, laundry and other purposes. The factory supplies fuel, light and water free, food at cost and barber service at a very reasonable rate. As to recreation, indoor and outdoor games, typical Chinese New Year amusements, summer conference and modern plays are open to all. Houses are rented to the families of workers at a very moderate rate. Refined salt and wood shavings are given to them free from time to time. Besides, systems of savings deposit and family remittance have been installed to encourage thrift among the workers, and the Mutual Aid Society has been organized to help workers in emergency. The Pacific Alkali Works, handicaped by financial conditions, only provides, at the expenses of the factory, dormitory, fuel and light, water and service of family remittance, but the workers are allowed to enjoy some of the benefits of Chiu Ta workers. All these services, especially those of Chiu Ta, have reduced the living expenses of the workers, by so much that in reality they amount to additional wages.

465 The earnings of both Chiu Ta and Pacific workers consist of wages, extra month's pay, allowance for working overtime and the commutation of gifts; but to the Chiu Ta workers, two kinds of bonus, general and salt, should be added. Except the wages of apprentices, both factories have fixed the minimum wage at $7.50 a month, or $8.25 a month including the commutation of gifts. The general average of monthly wages is $10.50 for Chiu Ta and $11.25 for Pacific. This difference is chiefly due to the fact that the latter has more highly-paid skilled labourers than the former. If we calculate the wages on a daily basis and compare them with those of the factory workers in Tientsin at